

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 OES-03 FAA-00 DOTE-00 ACDA-05 SCA-01

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4787

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 8664

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RP, CH, TS

SUBJECT: INITIAL IMPACT OF MARCOS VISIT TO CHINA

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: A) TAIPEI 3418

B) CINCPAC P210340Z

C) MANILA 8343

D) MANILA 8143

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E) MANILA 8035

F) MANILA 7940 AND PREVIOUS

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN GENERAL, FILIPINO OFFICIALDOM AND PUBLIC SEEM PLEASED WITH MARCOS VISIT TO PEKING AND RESULTS OF CHINA NORMALIZATION ALTHOUGH THEY REALIZE THAT NEW RELATIONSHIP IS NOT WITHOUT DANGER. DESPITE RHETORIC TO THE CONTRARY, SECURITY OFFICIALS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT POTENTIAL FOR CHINESE-SUPPORTED SUBVERSION, AND THE FIRST CCP STATEMENT OF FRATERNAL SUPPORT FOR LOCAL COMMUNISTS WILL BE AS UNWELCOME HERE AS IT WAS IN KUALA LUMPUR. WITH SIGNIFICANT EXCEPTION OF FIRST LADY, MOST GOP OFFICIALS RETURNED FROM PEKING IMPRESSED WITH EXTENT OF CHINESE PREOCCUPATION WITH SOVIET THREAT AND IMPLICIT CORROLARY THAT HASTY DISMANTLING OF U.S. BASES WOULD NOT BE WELCOMED BY PEKING. DESPITE PRESENT LACK OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY VIS-A-VIS SOVIETS WE EXPECT THAT "NORMALIZATION" WITH MOSCOW MAY COME BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. ON THE HOME FRONT, A DEBATE HAS OPENED ON RELEVANCE OF "CHINESE MODEL" TO PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS. TECHNOCRATS WHO VISITED PEKING WITH PRESIDENT WERE BOTH IMPRESSED AND APPALLED BY WHAT THEY SAW. FIRST LADY HAS TYPICALLY GOTTEN BIT IN HER TEETH AND IS INAUGURATING NEWLY INTEGRATED "PROJECT COMPASSION" (NUTRITION, ENVIRONMENT, FAMILY PLANNING) WHICH WILL SUPPOSEDLY INFUSE VILLAGES WITH CHINESE SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE AND DISCIPLINE. EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE OVERSEAS CHINESE PROBLEM BY LIBERALIZED NATURALIZATION ARE MAKING PROGRESS AND PRESIDENT MARCOS HAS ASSURED ETHNIC CHINESE LEADERS THAT RESIDUAL "STATELESS" PERSONS WILL BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN PHILIPPINES AND TRAVEL FREELY. PREPARATIONS FOR DE FACTO RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN ARE WELL ADVANCED, AND PENDING NEW AIR AGREEMENT ALLOWING PAL TAIPEI-TOKYO TRAFFIC RIGHTS IS ONE INDICATION THAT COMMERCIAL AND OTHER RELATIONS MAY BE AT HEIGHTENED LEVEL (UNLESS PRC ATTEMPTS TO BREAK UP THE BALLGAME.) AS FAR AS OUR OWN INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, WE SEE LITTLE THREAT FROM NORMALIZATION AND SOME ADVANTAGE IN THAT FILIPINOS (HAVING TAKEN SYMBOLIC STEP AWAY FROM OLD DEPENDENCE) MAY ALSO BE ABLE TO MOVE AWAY GRADUALLY FROM OLD LOVE-HATE EMOTIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD MORE RATIONAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY

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1. FILIPINO PUBLIC AND OFFICIALDOM SEEM GENERALLY PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF PRESIDENT'S CHINA (JUNE 7-11) VISIT. ALTHOUGH THE POLITICALLY COGNIZANT ARE KEENLY AWARE THAT RELATIONS WITH PRC WILL INVOLVE RISKS AND IRRITATIONS THERE IS NO SIGN OF PANIC OR EXTREME MALAISE EVEN AMONG THOSE ELEMENTS (E.G, THE MILITARY AND THE OVERSEAS CHINESE) FOR WHOM TRANSITION POSES GREATEST PROBLEMS. FOLLOWING IS REACTION PATTERN VISIBLE THUS FAR IN AREA OF PARTICU-

LAR INTEREST.

2. PUBLIC REACTION. NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING WAS WELL ADVERTISED MANY MONTHS IN ADVANCE AND CAME AS NO SURPRISE TO PUBLIC. MASSES OF LEAST EDUCATED ARE PROBABLY NOT INTERESTED ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. (IN CONTRAST TO SITUATION IN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA, NO SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL STRATUM OF FILIPINOS IS RABIDLY ANTI-CHINESE.) SOME INTELLECTUALS MAY GRANT MARCOS GRUDGING NOD OF ADMIRATION FOR OPENING RELATIONS BUT THIS WILL HARDLY SUFFICE TO COUNTERBALANCE THEIR OVERALL DISTASTE FOR HIM. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LEDGER, MORE CONSERVATIVE FILIPINOS (INCLUDING MANY IN LOWER MIDDLE CLASSES) ARE DISTRESSED AT APPARENT DISMANTLING OF TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY. DESPITE PRESIDENTIAL ASSURANCES TO THE CONTRARY, THEY ARE DEEPLY FEARFUL THAT NEW BRIDGE TO PEKING WILL ALIENATE U.S. AND INVITE SOCIALISM AND ATHEISM AS WELL AS SUBVERSION.

3. THE SECURITY PROBLEM. NOTWITHSTANDING RHETORIC TO THE CONTRARY GOP HAS BEEN ANYTHING BUT REASSURED BY CHINESE PROMISE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS. A FEW SOPHISTICATES ARE AWARE THAT THE REAL CHINESE MESSAGE READS "WE KNOW FROM THE INEXORABLE LAWS OF MARXIST-MAOIST DIALECTIC THAT YOUR ROTTEN SOCIETY WILL FALL BY ITS OWN WEIGHT. WE DON'T NEED TO PUSH." FOR THE MILITARY, MEMORIES OF ACTUAL CHINESE SUPPORT FOR INSURGENTS (SUPPLY OF M-14 RIFLES ON VESSEL KARAGATAN IN 1972 AND DONA ANDREA CASE IN 1974) ARE FRESH. TOP-LEVEL LEADERS ARE AWARE THAT CHINESE IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION WITH SOVIETS LEAVES PEKING LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO MAINTAIN SOME DEGREE OF MORAL SUPPORT FOR INSURGENCY, AND THEY ARE ALSO AWARE

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THAT CHINESE CLAIM THIS WOULD NOT BE "INTERVENTION." NEVERTHELESS THE FIRST BIRTHDAY GREETINGS CONVEYED TO LOCAL NPA INSURGENTS OR CPP/ML COMMUNISTS WILL PROVE TO BE AS UNWELCOME HERE AS HAS BEEN THE CASE IN KUALA LUMPUR.

4. CHINA, THE SOVIETS AND U.S. BASES. WE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL FURTHER READOUT ON THIS SUBJECT AVAILABLE FROM PRESIDENT AND OTHER TOP OFFICIALS BEFORE COMMENTING AT LENGTH. FOR THE MOMENT, GOP OFFICIALS SEEM TO HAVE RETURNED TO MANILA WITH STRONG SENSE OF CHINESE PREOCCUPATION WITH FORESTALLING SOVIET EXPANSION. WE ARE STRONGLY INCLINED TO QUESTION IMELDA'S ASSERTION (REF B) THAT TENG FLATLY STATED CHINESE DO NOT WANT U.S. BASES (SHE IS A NOTORIOUSLY BAD REPORTER) AND DOUBT THAT WE WILL GET SIMILAR PLAYBACK FROM HER HUSBAND. WE ALREADY KNOW THAT HE

TOOK THE CHINESE ATTITUDE ON THE BASES TO BE BENIGN.
WITH REGARD TO SOVIETS, GOP (EXCEPT FOR ROMULO) SEEMS UN-
CONCERNED BY FACT THAT POLICY OF "SIMULTANEOUS" RECOGNI-
TION OF USSR AND CHINA HAS BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.
DESPITE NON-EVIDENCE OF CURRENT DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY VIS-
A-VIS SOVIETS WE STILL EXPECT "NORMALIZATION" WITH MOS-
COW TO TAKE PLACE WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED, PROBABLY
BEFORE END OF YEAR. (PHILIPPINE-SOVIET TRADE TALKS ARE
SCHEDULED FOR JULY AND MAY PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER
STEPS.)

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. THE CHINESE MODEL: TO EMULATE OR NOT. PHILIPPINE
TECHNOCRATS RETURNED FROM BRIEF CHINA EXPOSURE DULY
IMPRESSED BY DISCIPLINE AND SELF-RELIANCE OF COMMUNES,
ETC., BUT ALSO DISTURBED BY HARSHNESS AND TOTALITY OF
CHINA'S MASSIVE SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION. AMONG THE MORE
SOPHISTICATED THERE IS NOW A HEALTHY DEBATE BEGINNING
OVER THE EXTENT TO WHICH ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE MODEL
CAN BE TRANSPLANTED TO PHILIPPINE SOIL WITHOUT UNACCEPT-
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ABLE ALTERATIONS IN SOCIAL SYSTEM. TYPICALLY, MRS. MARCOS
HAS GOT THE BIT IN HER TEETH AND IS IN PROCESS OF LAUNCH-
ING AMBITIOUS NEW "PROJECT COMPASSION" WHICH WOULD COM-
BINE PRESENT NUTRITION, ENVIRONMENT AND FAMILY PLANNING
PROGRAMS. NEW PROJECT SUPPOSEDLY WILL PENETRATE TO
VILLAGE LEVEL AND INVOLVE SOME RESPECTED AND COMPETENT
TECHNOCRATS, BUT HOW IT WILL INTERFACE WITH EXISTING
PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES IS ANYTHING BUT CLEAR AS YET.
OTHER EVIDENCE OF FASCINATION WITH "CHINESE MODEL" INCLUDES
PRESIDENT JUNE 20 EXHORTATION TO BARANGAYS (VILLAGE LEVEL
CITIZENS' ASSEMBLIES) TO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.
THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT PRESIDENT WILL BE INSPIRED BY
CHINESE EXAMPLE TO ATTEMPT REAL RESTRUCTURING AND REIN-
VIGORATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (BARANGAYS, ETC.) BUT
IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT THIS ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE RE-
GIME WILL FAIL TO MOVE BEYOND PASSING AND MODISH FASCINA-
TION WITH CHINOISERIE A LA ROUGE.

6. TRADE RELATIONS. CHINA TRADE WILL REMAIN MODEST
PORTION OF PHILIPPINE TOTAL FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE.
TRADE COMMUNIQUE SIGNED DURING VISIT (REF D) PORTENDS
GRADUAL INCREASE IN SINO-PHILIPPINE TRADE ALONG LINES AL-
READY DEVELOPING, BUT NO SPECTACULAR BREAKTHROUGHS. AS
NOTED REF C. PHILIPPINE HOPES ARE STILL HIGH FOR DEPEND-
ABLE SUPPLY OF CHINESE OIL TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON ME.
WHETHER THIS LONGING IS REALISTIC ONLY TIME AND THE PRO-
BLEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE OIL EXPORT CAPACITY
WILL TELL.

7. OVERSEAS CHINESE ALIENS. THE GOP HAS BEEN STEPPING
UP PRESSURE ON LOCAL CHINESE ALIENS (APPROXIMATELY 150-
200,000 IN NUMBER) TO OPT FOR PHILIPPINE CITIZENSHIP UN-
DER LIBERALIZED REGULATIONS. THIS DRIVE SEEMS TO BE
GOING FAIRLY WELL WITH ABOUT 35,000 NATURALIZATION FORMS
DISTRIBUTED THUS FAR (MANY FOR HEADS OF FAMILIES.)
ASSUMING MOST ARE FILLED OUT AND RETURNED (ONLY
SLIGHTLY OVER HALF HAVE BEEN THUS FAR) PROBLEM OF ALIENS
WILL BE LARGELY ELIMINATED. SINCE CHOU-MARCOS COMMUNIQUE

DID NOTHING TO DEFINE OR LIMIT PRC CONTROL OVER "STATE-
LESS", GOP IS ANXIOUS TO MAKE SURE THAT NATURALIZATION
DRIVE SUCCEEDS. NEVERTHELESS PRES. MARCOS HAS QUIETLY
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ASSURED LEADERS OF CHINESE COMMUNITY THAT "STATELESS"
(I.E., THOSE RETAINING TAIWAN PASSPORTS AND CLAIM TO
TAIWAN ALLEGIANCE) WILL BE ALLOWED TO LIVE IN PHILIP-
PINES (AND TRAVEL ON GROC PASSPORTS.) AS A RESULT,
TYPICALLY ANOMALOUS FILIPINO SITUATION IS DEVELOPING
IN WHICH SOME CHINATOWN NOTABLES ARE APPLYING FOR PHILIP-
PINE CITIZENSHIP WHILE (JUST TO BE ON THE SAFE SIDE) ALSO
RENEWING THEIR GROC PASSPORTS. (DURING MARCOS VISIT TO
MAINLAND ROC EMBASSY HERE WAS ISSUING 3-400 PASSPORTS
PER DAY. SINCE JANUARY 1 TOTAL OF 3,500 NEW PASSPORTS
ISSUED WITH 3,300 6-YEAR RENEWALS IN JUNE ALONE.) THERE
HAS BEEN SOME NOISY INFIGHTING IN LOCAL CHINESE COMMUN-
ITY WITH OLDER GENERATION EX-KMT LEADERSHIP COMING UNDER
OPPORTUNIST ATTACK FROM SUDDEN ADHERENTS OF PRC (GIVEN
AMPLE COVERAGE BY KERIMA POLOTAN'S ORIENT NEWS). BUT
ON THE WHOLE CHINESE ARE ADAPTING TO THE NEW SITUATION
WITH CUSTOMARY PRAGMATISM. (CONSULAR SECTION STATISTICS
REVEAL NO RPT NO NOTICEABLE INCREASE IN CHINESE VISA
APPLICATIONS FOR U.S. DURING PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS.)

8. RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. UNTIL THE VERY LAST MINUTE,
GROC THREATENED BITTER AND TOTAL BREAK WITH MANILA OVER
"NORMALIZATION". ABANDONMENT OF THIS POSITION WAS
SUDDEN AND COMPLETE. OUTLINE OF NEW "JAPANESE MODEL"
RELATIONS (REF A) THROUGH PACIFIC ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL
CENTER (CHINESE) AND FAR EAST TRADE PROMOTION CENTER
(FILIPINO) HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN MANILA PRESS. ROC
EMBASSY STAFF IS DEPARTING IN SHIFTS WITH LAST PERSONNEL
SCHEDULED TO LEAVE JULY 7 EXCEPT FOR FOUR COMMERCIAL
OFFICERS WHO WILL REMAIN TO BEGIN SETTING UP NEW TRADE
CENTER (LOCATION NOT YET KNOWN.) MEANWHILE, PHILIPPINE
REPRESENTATION IN TAIWAN WILL BE INCREASING SUBSTANTIALLY
FROM PRESENT LEVELS (FROM APPROX 17 TO APPROX. 30)
ACCORDING ROC EMBOFF. NEW AIR AGREEMENT
BEING REPORTED SEPTEL CAN RESULT IN INCREASED PAL SER-
VICE MANILA-TAIPEI POSSIBLY TO DAILY SERVICE AND PROBABLY
WILL GIVE PAL VALUABLE RIGHT TO TRAFFIC ON TAIPEI TOKYO
RUN. IN SHORT, AFTER SEEMINGLY NECESSARY BUT BRIEF INTER-
LUDE OF THEATER EVERYTHING SEEMS TO BE COMING UP ROSES
BETWEEN ROC AND GOP. ONLY QUESTION REMAINING IS WHETHER PRC
ALREADY HAS ACQUIESCED IN OR WILL TOLERATE THIS BIGAMOUS
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ARRANGEMENT, OR INSIST THAT MANILA STOP TRYING TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS.

9. CONCLUSION. UNLESS CHINESE ATTITUDE ON BASES MORE COMPLEX THAN SEEMS TO BE THE CASE, WE ANTICIPATE NO SERIOUS ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR INTERESTS FROM CHINESE PRESENCE HERE--INDEED THE CONTRARY COULD BE TRUE TO SOME SMALL EXTENT. COMMISSION OF ACT WHICH AMOUNTS TO SYMBOLIC REJECTION OF PAST DEPENDENCE ON U.S. MAY ENABLE FILIPINOS TO GET ON WITH PROCESS OF SHEDDING THEIR FAMILIAL LOVE-HATE ATTITUDE TOWARD U.S. AND ASSESSING US-RP RELATIONSHIP IN A MORE CUSTOMARY AND RATIONAL MANNER.

10. GOP SEEMS TO BE MOVING INTO NEW ERA OF CHINESE CONTACT WITH REASONABLE CONFIDENCE AND REALISTIC WARINESS. BUT THINGS ARE STILL IN THE HONEYMOON PHASE. ONCE CHINESE EMBASSY OPENS, POTENTIAL FOR FRICTION WILL BE GREAT. PRC SUPPORT FOR LOCAL COMMUNISTS, PRC OBJECTIONS TO CONTINUED DE FACTO TIES WITH TAIPEI, AND PRC MEDDLING IN "STATELESS" ALIEN AFFAIRS ARE ONLY THE MOST OBVIOUS LIKELY PROBLEM AREAS. EVEN FIRST LADY MAY FIND THAT PEKING'S MINIONS WILL SEEM LESS CHIC BUT NOT LESS RADICAL WHEN THEY ARE ON THE SCENE IN MANILA. ON THE OTHER HAND, CONTACT WITH PRC HAS ALREADY HAD HEALTHY EFFECT OF FOCUS-ING ATTENTION OF PLANNERS AND TECHNOCRATS ON ASPECTS OF CHINESE EXPERIENCE WHICH WHILE PRONE TO BAD IMITATION COULD HAVE LONG-RANGE RELEVANCE HERE, WHETHER OR NOT "PROJECT COMPASSION" TURNS OUT TO BE LITTLE MORE THAN ANOTHER EGO TRIP FOR IMELDA.
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